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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 PRETORIA 3771

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, WA, SF
SUBJECT: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN NAMIBIA

REF: (A) CAPE TOWN 0414, (B) PRETORIA 3632, (C) PRETORIA 3630,

1. SUMMARY: THE TURNHALLE GROUP IN NAMIBIA HAS BEGUN PREPARATIONS FOR ELECTIONS TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BY THE END OF THE YEAR. THESE CONSERVATIVE BLACK AND WHITE NAMIBIANS ARE ACTIVELY WORKING ON A WIDE-RANGE OF CONSTITUTIONAL, ORGANIZATIONAL, POLITICAL, AND FINANCIAL ISSUES RELATED TO THE FORTHCOMING CAMPAIGN. THE
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TURNHALLE HAS PROPOSED AN ELECTION PACKAGE INVOLVING A COUNTRY-WIDE ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE POLL. IT IS PROCEEDING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD UNDER THIS FORMULA WHETHER THE INITIATIVE OF THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS SUCCEEDS OR NOT. MEANWHILE THE SAG IS COMPLETING THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE ETHNIC SECOND TIER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

2. OVERALL, THE NATIONALISTS IN THE SOUTH WEST APPEAR TO BE BUILDING A CASE THAT THEY HAVE SET REASONABLE CONDITIONS FOR A FREE VOTE WITH A UN PRESENCE. THEY DRAW THE LINE, HOWEVER, AT TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS. THE TURNHALLE PARTICIPANTS ASSERT WITH VARYING DEGREES OF CONFIDENCE THAT THEY COULD DEFEAT SWAPO AT THE POLLS. BUT THEY DO NOT SEEM TO EXPECT THAT SWAPO WOULD ACTUALLY TAKE PART IN THE ELECTIONS.

3. ON THE OTHER HAND, INTERNAL SWAPO OFFICIALS, WHILE EXPANDING THEIR GRASS-ROOTS ACTIVITIES IN PREPARATION FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF ELECTIONS, ARE SKEPTICAL THAT THE SAG WILL AGREE TO ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS. THEY REITERATED THAT WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS WAS A FIRM PREREQUISITE. MEANWHILE, A NEW THIRD FORCE MULTI-RACIAL ALLIANCE OF VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES AND COALITIONS WAS BEING DISCUSSED IN WINDHOEK. IN ANY EARLY ELECTION THIS NEW MIDDLE GROUP WOULD PROBABLY HAVE LITTLE CHANCE AGAINST EITHER THE TURNHALLE ORGANIZATION OR SWAPO. SOME OBSERVERS, HOWEVER, BELIEVE THAT IN THE EVENT OF A THREE-WAY ELECTION THEY COULD CONCEIVABLY HOLD THE BALANCE. END SUMMARY.

4. EMBASSY POLCONVISITED WINDHOEK AND OVAMBO
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JULY 13-20. THE FOLLOWING IS A REPORT ON CURRENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN NAMIBIA. A SEPARATE MESSAGE WILL REPORT ON SECURITY AND MILITARY ISSUES IN THE SOUTH WEST.

5. THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE MET IN WINDHOEK FROM JULY 11 TO JULY 21 TO CONSIDER ORGANIZATION, CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL QUESTIONS IN ANTICIPATION OF ELECTIONS TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BY THE END OF THE YEAR. APPARENTLY BOUYED BY THESE PREPARATIONS AND NEW HOPES, THE TURNHALLE PARTICIPANTS NO LONGER SEEMED DISTURBED BY THE SAG'S DECISION TO SHELVE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THE TURNHALLE DRAFT CONSTITUTION. THE CONFIDENCE OF THE NP LEADERS WAS PARTICULARLY STRIKING. THEY AND THEIR BLACK SUPPORTERS ASSERTED THEY HAD LITTLE FEAR OF A CONTEST WITH SWAPO AT THE POLLS. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY DID NOT SEEM TO EXPECT THAT SWAPO WOULD ACTUALLY TAKE PART IN THE ELECTIONS. THE INTENTION TO PUSH ON TO AN EARLY POLL WAS APPARENT.

6. THE TURNHALLE MEETING WAS BRIEFED ON JULY 13 BY FONMIN PIK BOTHA. ACCORDING TO PARTICIPANTS, BOTHA TOLD THE GATHERING IT WAS TIME FOR THEM TO

UNITE AND TO PREPARE FOR EARLY ELECTIONS ON A NON-ETHNIC BASIS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. THE BLACK DELEGATES WERE INFORMED BY THEIR NATIONAL PARTY (NP) COLLEAGUES THAT THE TARGET DATE FOR ELECTIONS WAS SOMETIME BEFORE DECEMBER 31, 1977.

7. AS IN THE PAST, THE NP, LED BY THE VERLIGTE SOUTHWESTER, DIRK MUDGE, LARGELY DOMINATED THE SESSION. A NUMBER OF THE BLACK AND BROWN DELEGATES, HOWEVER, INCLUDING COLORED LEADER A.J.F. KLOPPERS, BESTER LEADER DR. AFRICA, TSWANAN GREGORY TIBINYANE, AND OVAMBO DELEGATION MEMBER PETER KALANGULA, WERE PARTICULARLY ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS.

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REVISING THE CONSTITUTION:

8. WITH THE SHELIVING OF THE TURNHALLE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, ONE PRIORITY WAS TO RENDER THE TURNHALLE DRAFT CONSTITUTION (REF A) INTO A PROPOSED CHARTER FOR A FULLY INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. THE TURNHALLE DRAFT AS

REVISED WILL SERVE AS THE BASIS OF THE GROUP'S
PLATFORM IN THE ELECTIONS. THE SESSION ESTABLISHED
A WORKING COMMITTEE TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS ON A
REVISED DRAFT. ACCORDING TO BILLY MARAIS, THE
SECRETARY OF THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE, THE NEW DRAFT
WILL EXCLUDE THE PREVIOUS PROVISIONS FOR THE
ALLOCATION OF DEFENSE, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, INTERNAL
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SECURITY AND OTHER AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY TO SOUTH
AFRICA. THIS ARRANGEMENT, HE SAID, WOULD NOT BE
APPROPRIATE UNDER AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT. SUCH
MATTERS AS MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS,
HE ADDED, MIGHT BE THE SUBJECT OF FUTURE
NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

9. THE WORKING COMMITTEE WILL ALSO REVIEW THE
POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SECOND (ETHNIC) AND
THIRD (MUNICIPAL) TIERS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE TURNHALLE
SYSTEM. ALTHOUGH IT WAS GENERALLY EXPECTED THAT THE
"ETHNICITY" AND CONSENSUS RULE PRINCIPLES OF THE
BLUEPRINT WOULD BE RETAINED, SOME OF THE NON-WHITE
DELEGATES CALLED FOR DRASTIC CHANGES. IN PARTICULAR,
THEY URGED REVISIONS THAT WOULD PREVENT THE SECOND
AND THIRD TIER AUTHORITIES FROM INSTITUTING LAWS
AND REGULATIONS WHICH WOULD IN EFFECT CONTINUE RACIALLY
DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES. TO THIS END, THE WORKING
COMMITTEE REPORTEDLY IS CONSIDERING A CLEARER
DEFINITION OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S AUTHORITY AS
WELL AS A SPECIFIC PROVISION TO PROVIDE FOR BLACK
OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY IN WHITE AREAS. ACCORDING
TO MARAIS, THE COMMITTEE WILL ADDRESS THE POSSIBILITY
OF MAKING THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION'S BILL OF HUMAN RIGHTS
JURIDICALLY ENFORCEABLE.

10. SOME OF THE DELEGATES URGED THAT THE SAG BE
REQUESTED TO END ALL DISCRIMINATORY LAWS IN SOUTH
WEST AFRICA NOW, THUS ALLOWING THE TURNHALLE TO
OBTAIN CREDIT FOR ENDING APARTHEID. THE NP, HOWEVER,
TOLD THE MEETING THAT THIS MOVE SHOULD AWAIT THE
INSTILLATION OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL. SOME
OBSERVERS THOUGHT THE SAG DID NOT WISH TO SET A
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PRECEDENT IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF BY ENDING DISCRIMINATORY
LAWS IN THE TERRITORY; IT WOULD BE BETTER LEFT TO

THE SUCCESSOR AUTHORITY. OTHERS SPECULATED THAT, IN ADDITION, THE SOUTH WEST NP MAY HAVE BELIEVED IT PREMATURE TO TAKE SUCH A STEP, AS THE INTERNATIONAL PROCESS BEING PURSUED BY THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS COULD BREAK DOWN AND SOME DISCRIMINATORY LAWS COULD THEN POSSIBLY BE RETAINED.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION;

11. SEVERAL OF THE BLACK AND BROWN TURNHALLE PARTICIPANTS PROPOSED THAT THE GROUP FORM A NEW MULTI-RACIAL PARTY FOR THE ELECTIONS. THE NP OPPOSED THIS IDEA, AND THE MEETING AGREED TO ESTABLISH A COMMON POLITICAL FRONT, TENTATIVELY TO BE CALLED THE TURNHALLE NATIONAL FRONT (TNF). THE TNF WILL BE COMPOSED OF VARIOUS ETHNIC PARTIES, INCLUDING THE NP, AND POSSIBLY SOME NOMINALLY MULTI-RACIAL PARTIES. THE WORKING COMMITTEE WILL SUBMIT RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FRONT TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE AND ULTIMATELY TO A FULL MEETING OF THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE. THE CONFERENCE WILL THEN APPROVE THE PROPOSALS ON POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AS WELL AS THE REVISIONS TO THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION.

12. IN DISCUSSIONS ON THE PROPOSED POLITICAL FRONT, BLACK AND BROWN DELEGATES STRONGLY INSISTED THAT THE NP SHOULD CUT ITS FORMAL TIES WITH THE NATIONAL PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA. THEY ASSERTED THAT TO BE ALLIED WITH THE APARTHEID PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE A DEADLY ELECTORAL HANDICAP. ALTHOUGH MUDGE SAID PRIVATELY THAT THE NP IN NAMIBIA WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE TO SEVER ITS LINKS TO THE MOTHER PARTY AND ONE NP MEMBER PUBLICLY ADVOCATED A BREAK, THE NP REJECTED SUCH A MOVE AT THIS TIME. THE WHITE LEADERS ARGUED THAT TIES WITH THE NP IN THE REPUBLIC WOULD SOLIFIFY SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE
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SUPPORT FOR TURNHALLE-LED NAMIBIA. THE SESSION DID NOT RESOLVE THIS QUESTION AND THE WORKING COMMITTEE WILL CONSIDER IT.

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13. ANOTHER PROSPECTIVE TURNHALLE AFFILIATE OF THE PROPOSED TNF IS THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NDP) CENTERED IN OVAMBO. THE PRESENT CHIEF MINISTER OF THE OVAMBO GOVERNMENT, KORNELIUS NDJOBA, WILL PRESUMABLY BE THE LEADER OF THIS PARTY. TWO FORMER SWAPO FIGURES, MBURAMBA KERINA AND EMIL APOLLOS, ARE PLAYING A LEADING ROLE IN THE NDP. KERINA IS ASSOCIATED WITH THE NAMIBIAN FOUNDATION, WHICH OBSERVERS IN WINDHOEK SUSPECT THE SAG INDIRECTLY SUPPORTS. (ACCORDING TO KERINA THE NAMIBIA FOUNDATION IS OPENING AN OFFICE IN WASHINGTON THIS MONTH.) GIVEN THEIR NEED TO MAKE DECENT SHOWING IN OVAMBO
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IN ANY ELECTIONS, WITH OR WITHOUT SWAPO, THE TURNHALLE AND THE SAG ARE NO DOUBT GIVING HIGH PRIORITY TO BUILDING UP AND FUNDING THE NDP.

14. REPORTEDLY, THE SAG IS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT OF TURNHALLE ELECTION PREPARATIONS. THE TRIBAL LANGUAGE BROADCASTS OF SABC ARE SAID TO BE FULL OF STORIES ABOUT THE TURNHALLE AND SPEECHES BY ITS LEADERS. IT IS WIDELY BELIEVED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO SPONSORED LARGE TURNHALLE

FETES, INCLUDING A TURNHALLE DAY EVENT IN NAMALAND ON JULY 9 FOR WHICH 200 CATTLE WERE ALLEGEDLY SLAUGHTERED. DURING THE CAMPAIGN, MANY CAMPAIGNING TURNHALLE LEADERS WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE PAY AND PERQUISITES AS OFFICIALS OF THE "SECOND TIER" GOVERNMENTS. A "PRIVATE" CAMPAIGN CHEST HAS ALREADY BEEN ESTABLISHED TO PROVIDE FUNDS TO THE TNF. MANAGEMENT OF THE FUND, TO BE CALLED TUFEX (TURNHALLE FUND FOR ELECTION EXPENSES), WILL REPORTEDLY BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF AN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE TNF.

15. WHILE PREPARATION FOR ELECTIONS ARE PROCEEDING APACE, THE TURNHALLE AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE ALSO COMPLETING THE INSTITUTION OF THE SO-CALLED "SECOND TIER" OF GOVERNMENTS AS CALLED FOR IN THE TURNHALLE DRAFT CONSTITUTION (REF B). THESE MOVES, PROVIDED FOR IN EARLIER SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION AND REFERRED TO BY THE SAG DURING THE CAPE TOWN TALKS, ARE INTENDED NOT ONLY TO CONTINUE PROGRESS TOWARD THE TURNHALLE ETHNICITY SOLUTION, BUT ALSO TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL TURNHALLE LEADERS IN THESE AREAS ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT FUNDS AND THE ELECTORAL ADVANTAGE OF BEING INCUMBENT AUTHORITIES.

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CONDITIONS FOR ELECTIONS:

16. THE TURNHALLE MEETING ALSO AGREED ON A PACKAGE OF PROPOSALS REGARDING THE MECHANICS OF THE ELECTIONS FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. THE PROPOSALS, AS ANNOUNCED BY MUDGE ON JULY 22, CALLED FOR A ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE, NON-ETHNIC, PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION POLL (REF C). UNDER PRESENT PLANS, THE TURNHALLE PARTIES WILL CAMPAIGN COUNTRY-WIDE FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY UNDER THE TNF LABEL. THE TNF CANDIDATES WILL BE LISTED IN A MANNER TO ASSURE REPRESENTATION IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF EACH OF THE ETHNIC PARTIES RUNNING UNDER THE TNF BAN. SHOULD THE TNF SUCCEED AND THE TURNHALLE DRAFT CONSTITUTION BE ADOPTED, ELECTIONS TO THE PROPOSED NAMIBIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA WOULD--UNDER PRESENT PLANS--BE ON AN ETHNIC BASIS.

17. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, MUDGE AND OTHER TURNHALLE LEADERS SAID THAT THE TURNHALLE MEETING WAS CONSIDERING RECOMMENDING THE ISSUANCE OF VOTER IDENTITY CARDS AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO DRAWING UP VOTER ROLLS FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION. THEY BELIEVED THERE WAS NO TIME TO COMPILE ROLLS, BUT THEY DID NOT EXPLAIN WHY IT WOULD BE SIMPLER TO ISSUE VOTER IDENTITY CARDS. MUDGE DID NOT REFER TO

THIS SUBJECT IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT ABOUT
THE TURNHALLE PROPOSALS.

18. MUDGE AND OTHERS UNDERSCREOED THE "LIBERALITY"
OF THEIR PROPOSED ELECTION PACKAGE. THEY ALSO SAID
THEY WOULD WELCOME AN EXTENSIVE UN PRESENCE DURING
THE CAMPAIGN AND POLLING. THE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL
FOR INDIGINOUS PEOPLES, JANIE DE WET, EXCLAIMED THAT
HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO RECEIVE "A THOUSAND UN OBSERVERS."
ALTHOUGH THEY GENERALLY SPOKE OF THE UN AS OBSERVING
RATHER THAN SUPERVISING THE ELECTIONS, SOME SEEMED
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TO ENVISION MORE THAN A PASSIVE ROLE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S
REPRESENTATIVE.

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19. THERE WERE ALSO SUGGESTIONS OF A FORTHCOMING POSTURE ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS. ALTHOUGH THE SAG IS LIKELY TO BARGAIN HARD FOR RELEASE OF SWAPO DISSIDENTS DETAINED IN ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA, SOME OBSERVERS IN WINDHOEK BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT MIGHT OFFER UNILATERALLY TO FREE IMPRISONED SWAPO FIGURES, IF SWAPO WOULD OTHERWISE ACCEPT THE TRANSITION PACKAGE (PRESUMABLY INCLUDING CONTINUED SAG TROOP PRESENCE.) THE COMPARATIVELY LIGHT SENTENCES (5 TO 15 YEARS) RECENTLY GIVEN FIVE ALLEGED SWAPO TERRORISTS WAS SEEN AS A REFLECTION OF SAG WILLINGNESS TO BE FLEXIBLE. ON THE QUESTION OF
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WALVIS BAY, NP LEADERS IN NAMIBIA SEEMED INCLINED TO BE REASONABLE AND OPTIMISTIC. SOME ARRANGEMENT MUST BE WORKED OUT, THEY SAID, CITING THE POSSIBILITY OF A LONG-TERM LEASE.

20. A MINOR ISSUE, BUT ONE WHICH SWAPO OFFICIALS MENTIONED TWICE, IS THE QUESTION OF WHCCH WHITES IN THE SOUTH WEST COULD VOTE IN THE PROPOSED ELECTIONS. MUDGE SAID THE GUIDELINE WOULD BE THAT ANY WHITE RESIDENT WHO GAVE UP HIS SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP FOR NAMIBIAN CITIZENSHIP WOULD BE ALLOWED TO TAKE PART.

21. OVERALL, THE NATIONALISTS IN THE SOUTH WEST APPEAR TO BE BUILDING A CASE THAT THEY HAVE SET REASONABLE CONDITIONS FOR A FREE ELECTION WITH UN PRESENCE TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA. THEY DRAW THE LINE, HOWEVER, AT TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, UNLESS "THE WESTERN POWERS GUARANTEE SECURITY." THE CONSERVATIVE SOUTHWESTERS SEEM TO HAVE NO DOUBT OF THIS STAND. THEY ASSERT VORSTER PERSONALLY PROMISED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES WOULD STAY "AS LONG AS THEY WERE NEEDED," OR--ACCORDING TO ANOTHER VERSION-- "AS LONG AS SOUTH WEST AFRICA WANTS THEM." MUDGE ASSERTED THAT THIS PLEDGE WAS THE BASIS FOR "OUR AGREEMENT TO COOPERATE."

THE THIRD FORCE:

22. A FEW TURNHALLE DISSIDENTS MIGHT STILL LEAVE THE FOLD AND JOIN TOGETHER WITH THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT (NNF), THE LATEST THIRD FORCE IN NAMIBIAN POLITICS. THE NNF EMERGED IN APRIL THIS YEAR OUT OF THE OLD NAMIBIAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AND THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL, OF WHICH SWAPO HAD BEEN A MEMBER UNTIL 1976. THE NNF
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IS PRESENTLY COMPRISED OF TEN ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING SEVERAL DAMARA GROUPS AND THE MULTI-RACIAL BUT LARGELY HERERO-BASED SWANU. THE NFF REJECTS "ETHNICITY" AND ESPOUSES A MODERATE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAM. THE WHITE LIBERALS ARE ALSO CONSIDERING ALIGNING THEMSELVES WITH THE NFF IN A NEW AND LARGER FRONT. WHILE THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE WAS IN SESSION, BARRY O'LINN OF THE WHITE FEDERAL PARTY, AND PETER KALANGULA FROM THE TURNHALLE WERE DRAWING UP A DRAFT DECLARATION AND CHARTER FOR A PROPOSED "NATIONAL FRONT OF SWA-NAMIBIA (NFSWAN). THE NFSWAN WOULD BE AN ALLIANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND COALITIONS COMMITTED TO A UNITARY, MULTI-RACIAL AND DEMOCRATIC STATE. THE THIRD FORCE, HOWEVER, IS POORLY ORGANIZED AND SHORT OF FUNDS. IN AN EARLY ELECTION UNDER WHATEVER LABEL, IT WOULD PROBABLY HAVE LITTLE CHANCE AGAINST EITHER SWAPO OR THE TNF. SOME OBSERVERS, HOWEVER, BELIEVE IT COULD CONCEIVABLY EMERGE HOLDING THE BALANCE IN A THREE-WAY CONTEST.

SWAPO:

23. MEANWHILE, SWAPO'S INTERNAL ORGANIZATION IS EXPANDING ITS GRASS-ROOTS ACTIVITIES IN PREPARATION FOR A POSSIBLE ELECTION. DANIEL TJONGARERO SAID THAT THE PARTY WAS CANVASSING DOOR TO DOOR AND INTENSIFYING ITS ORGANIZATIONAL WORK, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTH. TJONGARERO SAID THAT BECAUSE THE PARTY COULD NOT HOLD RALLIES AND WAS HARASSED BY THE AUTHORITIES IN SUCH AREAS AS OVAMBO AND HEREROLAND, IT WOULD NEED SOME TIME TO PREPARE FOR AN ELECTION. THE HEAD OF SWAPO REGIONAL OFFICE IN OVAMBO, SKINNY HILUNDUA, SAID THE PARTY WOULD NEED THREE TO SIX MONTHS. ALL SWAPO OFFICIALS AGAIN ASSERTED THAT NO FREE ELECTIONS COULD BE HELD AS LONG AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMY WAS PRESENT. SWAPO'S (INTERNAL) PUBLICITY SECRETARY IN WINDHOEK WAS QUOTED IN THE DAILY MAIL OF JULY 26

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AS SAYING THE TURNHALLE PROPOSALS FOR ELECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY APPEARED TO BE "QUITE ATTRACTIVE." NEVERTHELESS, SWAPO OFFICIALS WERE GENERALLY SKEPTICAL THAT THE SAG WOULD OFFER ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS.

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